1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

608 585 of the bride and groom together with all their brothers, sisters, and first cousins, in short, all the people the bride or groom may call aunt or uncle. Only these have the right to become *compadres*. Inside the building a mat is spread on the floor. The parents of the [516] bride and groom enter first and kneel on the mat, where they remain during the ceremony. The others follow. They also kneel, but before kneeling they embrace one another, saying "In the future you will be my *compadre* (*comadre*) of Heaven and I pray God that we never offend one another. *Buenos tardes, compadre.*" One after the other repeats the same words. Sometimes they are in Tarascan: "Kumbéskari ka auándaɹu anápueskari ka uéke dióʂa éskakʂa no méni ambé arijperoka. Na čúskuskiá kumba." Meantime the t'aɹépiti is iterating that all have the right to be *compadres*, that is to say, the aunts and uncles. (The language used by the marriage manager is not a fixed speech.) When this act is completed, all have the right to call each other *compadres* in the future.

608 To the preceding account a few additions must be made. Relatives may be sought as godparents of a child, especially of baptism, but only rarely is this done. The reason usually is a desire to save money, as between relatives there need be no ceremony or expense. *Compadres* of confirmation are selected to accompany the child to church at the time of confirmation. *Compadres* of the crown or circumcision are normally sought when the child is between the ages of 6 months and 10 years. The child is taken to the image of any saint wearing a crown (the *mayordomía* saints kept at private houses are used, not those of the church), and the godmother places the saint's crown on the child. She says an "Our Father" and burns a candle. When she has finished, [782] she hands the crown to the *mayordomo* or his wife to replace on the saint and pays from 6 to 25 centavos. Normally only one *compadre* of the crown is sought.[21]

In some parts of Mexico—for example, [171] among the Mayo of Sonora—if a child dies, the same godparents are sought for the next child born. The Tarascans are more apt to seek another godparent, believing that the death of the child was from the "luck" of the godparents. Any request to be a godparent may be refused.

In view of the fact that the duties of god-

[21] In other towns, a godparent of the crown may be sought at any time, especially if a child has been sickly for some time, or merely because the parents like someone. I received requests to be godfather of the crown in other towns where I visited very briefly; I never received a request to be a godfather of any type in Cherán.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 79] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro
[P. 6 contains no text]

1

INTRODUCTION

131 The Tarascans are one of the principal Indian groups on the central plateau of
[161] Mexico, numbering around 55,000 in 1940. They occupy the central region of the State of Michoacan, mainly in the Lake Pátzcuaro area and the Sierra west of it.
621 They live in sixty-six villages *(pueblos)*[1] and a number of dependent hamlets
[101] *(ranchos)* amidst similar settlements of mestizo Spanish-speaking people.[2]

171 Except for language, the differences be-
178 tween the Tarascans and the nearby rural mestizos are not very great from either the cultural or any other point of view. Four centuries of living together with and under people of European culture (Spanish colonial or modern Mexican) have made the Tarascans considerably interdependent with Mexican national life, and their culture, if analyzed in traits and institutions, might show more of a Spanish than an Indian heritage. The loss of Tarascan speech and consciousness is only one more step in the process of greater integration and acculturation into the Mexican nation, and many of the mestizo villages near the Tarascans have undergone this transformation only recently.

This interrelation with the rest of the nation is seen not only in the content of their culture but also in their participation in the social and political conflicts of Mexico.

668 National issues which have agitated Mexico in later years have their local manifestation in Tarascan towns. Conflicts around land and church rage in many Tarascan villages.

While the basic issues of landownership arise out of local conditions, the local groups fighting those issues are connected with national political groups. *Agraristas* (peasants claiming or receiving lands under the agrarian laws emanating from the Revolution) are found in many villages. Lately the Catholic nationalistic movement of the *sinarquistas* has found strong support among the Tarascans. Their dif-
[609] ferent allegiances make for opposition or support of the national and state governments and local agencies, influencing the

1. The terms village and town are used indistinctively throughout this paper to translate the Spanish pueblo.
2 West, 1948, 1.

175 623 formed a council of elders who controlled community affairs and the nomination of new officers.[15]

175 171 621 This is the system which seems to be typical of Indian-Spanish towns in Middle and South America.[16] It has been best characterized by Tax for Guatemala,[17] where secular and religious officials are arranged in a hierarchical sequence through which every man is supposed to pass. Those who have thus fulfilled their duties toward the community enter the category of elders and form a council which holds power and controls the giving of offices.

A basic trait in the political system of the Indian village community was the close interrelation of the religious and secular aspects of town organization by having civil officers perform some religious function or by considering certain religious offices prerequisite for the civil.

175 771 Native religion before the Spanish conquest was based on a number of gods representing the different natural elements, economic activities, and the social groups formed by kinship and the division of labor (clans, trades, towns, etc.). After the 175 797 Spanish conquest, Catholicism was forced on the Indians and a Catholic priesthood [776] replaced the native one. A syncretism of the Indian gods with similar Catholic saints occurred. This replacement or fusion of Indian gods with Catholic saints and also the preservation of pagan festivals by devoting them to the saints were acknowledged and even fostered by the Spanish missionaries.

175 794 Every Indian community was provided with a church, a priest, and a sexton. There were also two or three chanters and two *fiscales*, old men in charge of calling the Indians to religious services and instruction.[18]

175 796 Very important in this new religion were the festivals connected with the yearly cycle of Catholic ritual. They were organized by devout individuals who took care of a particular festival and assisted the priest. Civil officers also participated.

178 771 Part of the native religion not related to the Church rituals survived, because of the considerable community autonomy, mainly as private ceremonies or superstitions relating to technological or life cycle activities (sickness, for instance).

These aspects of unorganized religion

15. Chávez Orozco, 1943, Chapter 2.
16. For Peru, see Mishkin, 1946, 443-448.
17. Tax, 1937, especially 442-444. The question of land tenure, however, is not discussed. For this point, see Wagley, 1941, 56-66.
18. Haring, 1947, 174.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[p.146] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

178 and the native elements incorporated into
771 the local Catholic cult made up an important part of the local folk culture of each community.

* * *

171 That Michoacan followed the same general process as the rest of peasant Mexico is well attested in a number of sources. West's recent survey of the cultural geography of Michoacan includes colonial data on the economic aspects (population, agriculture, settlements, and handicrafts) which show that Michoacan developed along the same lines as the rest of Mexico.[19] These economic aspects will be considered further, for many still survive into modern times. The politico-religious organization of colonial times will be discussed later.

THE DECLINE OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

177 Together with the patterning of Indian
423 communities after Spanish townships, the Spaniards introduced into Mexico private ownership of land. They acquired large
178 estates *(haciendas)* which were worked with Negro or Indian labor and whose produce was primarily destined for the national or world market. These two types of land tenure, — communal property of village communities and private property of haciendas, — have been in conflict throughout the history of Mexico. This conflict began early in colonial times; it reached its climax with the almost complete destruction of the village communities at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present.

668 With Mexican independence began the
177 application of political and economic poli-
423 cies of liberalism, and greater decay of the village communities set in.

The Indians were no longer considered a special caste under a different system of law, but Mexican citizens with equal rights. Although Indian tribute was abolished, the Indians also lost the protections afforded by the *Leyes de Indias* to their autonomous government.[20] The most important blow to the Indian village community, though, was the loss of their economic foundation: communal ownership of land.

175 Three centuries after the Spanish con-
794 quest, the Church had become the largest landowner of the country. The fight for abolishing ownership of land held in mort-
423 main by the church came to be the dominant fact in the nineteenth century history
668 of Mexico.

19. West, 1948.
20. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 4.

342 ject, then the "*pisos*" are usually higher, sup-
335 ported by the adobes of the "*capisayo*," and another heavy plank is placed on the ends of the joists. The space between the wall and the ends of the joists is usually covered with shakes. The lower end of the rafters is supported by the "*piso*," the upper by a ridge pole (pirĵɟ́akua in Ihuatzio). The latter in turn rests on two wooden pieces, "*burrito*," or "*zoquete*," forming the top of each triangular adobe "*capisayo*" (pl. 7, lower, right).

Although the preceding roof type is the most common, simpler types are known. In some cases, one wall is lower than the opposite wall and a single shed roof is formed by sloping joists. It should be observed that similar types of construction are used in La Cañada and at Tarecuato. Moreover, examples of all types of stone-
● [171] and-adobe construction may be found in nearby Mestizo towns.

SUPPLEMENTARY STRUCTURES

351 Supplementary structures consist of fences,
333 gates, and sheds for storage or for shelter of animals. Fences facing on streets are the most elaborate as a rule. They may consist of dry rock walls made by the house owner, but in the central parts of town are almost always of masonry or masonry topped with adobe brick (pls. 2, lower; 3, right). They are called sérka. The construction differs in no way from that for house walls. The top is covered with shakes held down with a wooden stringer and stones. Adobe fences are most common in the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada regions. Often fences of poles (uaɟ́ótakua)
351 are employed to divide lots, or especially in the
335 outlying sections of town, along the streets (pl. 3, left). Poles may also be used to raise a masonry or adobe-brick wall somewhat higher, in which case a row of shakes will usually be employed to give privacy as well. No orthodox construction is used for pole structures. One attractive but not very practical fence was made of dry cornstalks bound neatly at top and bottom to small poles. A fence of upright poles or planks is called ɟirindikua.

Gates are usually quite elaborate and serve to close openings to the street. Commonly, the gate is a well-made door, purchased from a carpenter, and swinging from two substantial upright posts. These posts are set in the ground and in addition

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

342 Tiles are unquestionably Spanish in origin, and
177 the architectural types of the Lake resemble Spanish types more than they do the illustrations of the "Relación de Michoacán."

342 Wooden houses are not mentioned in the
127 "Relaciones geográficas" (fig. 20). Although the *cabeceras* described in these Relaciones are not in the Sierra, part of their territories are in the Sierra and some subject villages were in the Sierra. For example, the "Relación de Peribán" says: "las casas deste dicho pueblo e sus sujetos son pequeños e de poco sustén e muy baxas, son cubiertas de paxa y los cimientos de piedra y las paredes de adobes e barro". Among the subject towns of Peribán were San Francisco, Atapan, Charapan, and San Lorenzo, all villages of the Sierra, as well as others not identificable because the native name is not given, but which, from their description, are evidently in the Sierra.

The sole modern construction which might have been in existence in the 16th century is the úmutakata, for in Gilberti occurs "tsirimba *troje asentado en cuarto palos.*" The houses of canes and poles (tsirindacata of Gilberti) may have been similar, in a general way, to some modern kitchens of a simple type or to shelters.

342 The principal historical problem is to deter-
177 mine whether the shake roof and the log wall with interlocking corners is of European or pre-
171 Hispanic American origin. Both elements are well known in Europe and were introduced in North America, the interlocked log walls being brought by Swedish colonists to the Delaware River. In our case, information is scanty. We do not find references to log houses from before the Conquest or early Colonial times. As to the shakes, the question appears somewhat clearer. The Spanish and Tarascan words for shake (*tejamanil*, tasámani) are both derived from the Nautl tlaxamanilli, a descriptive word meaning "split thing." Nevertheless, shakes are known in Spain,[14] and their Spanish origin in Mexico is confirmed by the Relación of 1581 on the Taxco region near Michoacán, stating that shakes were used as covering for Spaniards' houses, those of the Indians being thatched.[15] A similar situation is found today in the Tsotsil region of

[14] In shepherds' huts of the Basque country. Anales del Museo de Pueblo Español, vol. 1, p. 91, pl. 7. 1935.
[15] Papeles de Nueva España, vol 6, p. 251. Madrid, 1905.

342 Chiapas, where *ladinos* use tiles or shakes for
177 their houses while Indians continue to use thatch.
[171] It seems sound, then, to assume that shakes were introduced into Mexico by a small group of Spaniards, and that their use spread rapidly and intensely in wooded country. As shakes were probably unknown to a great part of the Spaniards, the Nauatl descriptive word prevailed over the Spanish one.

342 The history of shakes and of interlocked log
171 structures cannot, however, be resolved definitively without taking into account all the data from Middle America. At the present time, log structures are found among the Trique, Mixteca, and Mixe in Oaxaca; in the region between Perote and Jalapa, in the Sierra de Puebla; and among the Tepehuano and the Tarahumara. Shakes have a wider distribution.

343 The modern use of the Spanish word *troje* and
127 the Tarascan *tarímba* (in Angahuan) suggests that these were once granaries which have evolved into the modern wooden house. In the "Relación

[Continued on p.36b]

CONTEMPORARY TARASCAN HOUSING PROBLEMS

362 In the Introduction of this paper, a number of problems were discussed relating to the evaluation of Tarascan housing.

Although accurate determination of value standards for setting ideal goals for Tarascan houses is not pretended, some general conclusions seem possible. Tarascan houses are below the most desirable health standards from the standpoint of dryness, ventilation, protection from cold, and freedom from insects. In general, the wooden type of architecture is less damp and better ventilated. It is perhaps less warm, a deficiency compensated for by use of the fire in the kitchen, with the additional drawback, of course, of smoke irritation of the eyes and respiratory tract. There seems little to choose between the two types of construction from the standpoint of rodents and insects.

Economically, the masonry-adobe type of construction seems to be a little cheaper. For most Sierra Tarascans, however, this advantage is illusory and only holds for those who can afford to hire all the labor done. The masonry-adobe construction calls for the employment of specialists throughout. Most Sierra Tarascan males, on

[p.36a] [Continued bottom of page 36b]

134 Large cracks occur in the soil surface during the months of March and April, and moisture is evaporated from a depth of many inches. Consequently čaránda is a "temporal" soil, i. e., it can be planted only after the rains begin. Because of its clayey texture, it erodes easily once the plant cover is stripped and the soil structure is destroyed. The cultivated slopes around Lake Pátzcuaro, for example, are one of the worst-eroded agricultural areas of Mexico. Wherever čaránda soils occur, the surface is scarred by gullies, which are becoming a characteristic landscape feature in the low areas surrounding the Sierra.

134 241 **Minor soil types.**—Among the most fertile in the Tarascan area are a few minor soil types. These include the alluvium in La Cañada and the lacustrine deposits around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro and within the recently desiccated Zacapu Basin. Containing abundant organic

[Text continues TOP of P. 11b--Analyst]

TARASCAN POPULATION

THE RECESSION OF NATIVE SPEECH

191 178 One of the outstanding developments in Tarascan history has been the drastic areal recession of indigenous speech. Today the territory in which Tarascan (P'orépeča) is spoken represents 171 only one-fifteenth of its pre-Conquest extent. The pre-Spanish linguistic area (discussed by Brand, 1944) included most of the present State of Michoacán, except the Pacific slope of the Sierra Madre del Sur between Colima and the lower Balsas (map 7). The political limits of the Tarascan state, however, extended beyond the language boundary: in the west into Jalisco, in the south to the Pacific, and in the north to the Bajío of Guanajuato (Brand, 1944; cf. Stanislawski, 1947 a). The Tarascan cultural core centered in the north-central part of the Empire, comprising the Lake Pátzcuaro-Cuitzeo area and the pine forests of the Sierra and the upper escarpment zone (Stanislawski, 1947 a). Tarascans extended their speech southward into the *tierra caliente* (basins of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas) by colonization from the highlands during the 14th and early 15th centuries. Likewise, the P'orépeča settlements around the eastern end of Lake Chapala and south thereof (Mazamitla) appear to have been 15th-century colonies. Within the 191 pre-Conquest area various islands of foreign tongues existed; these represented colonies settled 563 with permission of Tarascan chiefs. There were

[Text continues bottom of P. 11b--Analyst]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 29-C] Sierra

The house lot is fenced
351 with adobe, stone, or logs; the portion facing the street may be enclosed by a high wall of planks, stone, or adobe, which joins the house at one end. Such structures are called *ʧanʧakata* in the Sierra (pl. 3). Various types of gates are used at the entrance to the house lot; the more common are the double-door affair, and those with logs placed horizontally in slots carved in opposite upright posts.

Historical aspects.—The provenience of the
342 wooden *troje* presents one of the most puzzling
171 features in Tarascan culture history. The structure of interlocked logs or planks is a relatively uncommon house type in Mexico, where it has a disjunct distribution. It is found in (1) Oaxaca among the Mixe, Mixtec, and Trique groups;

342 (2) Veracruz on the northern slopes of the Cofre
171 de Perote; (3) the Sierra Madre Oriental between Apulco and Huayacocotla near the Hidalgo-Veracruz border and near the Pan American highway northeast of Jacala, Hidalgo; (4) the Sierra Madre Occidental (Durango and Chihuahua); (5) isolated spots in the Sierra Madre del Sur (Guerrero) west of Chilpancingo; and (6) the
342 Tarascan Sierra of Michoacán. The log cabin in
171 Durango and Chihuahua possibly may have been
177 introduced by United States Confederate refugees, a few of whom settled in the Sierra Madre in the late 1860's and 1870's. Located near one of the main Veracruz-México roads, the Perote people also may have obtained the idea of interlocked logs from United States or European travelers or settlers. The plank structures of Michoacan are technically superior to the North American log cabin (introduced into the North American colonies from Scandinavia in the 17th century), and are known to have existed since the last quarter of the 18th century. Log cabins were apparently unknown in Spain during the colonial period. The idea of their construction may have been introduced into Mexico from northern Europe.

342 There is nothing in the Relación de Michoacán or in the available Relaciones Geográficas (Muc. Nac., leg. 102) that indicates the presence of log structures among 16th-century Tarascans.[39] The native houses were constructed of adobe or stone with four-shed straw-thatched roofs. The first definite evidence of the modern *troje* that the writer has encountered appears in the Calderon report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73), which mentions ". . . jacales de . . . vigas horizontales cubiertas de tajamanil . . ." in Turícuaro (f. 336v), ". . . cuatro trojes de Maderas de Pino, bien construidas y conservadas . . ." in Nocutzepo (Lake Pátzcuaro) (f. 301), and ". . . chozas (or casas) de madera . . ." in many other towns in the Sierra (map 18). In most pueblos, however, wooden houses were mingled with those of stone or adobe. Moreover, houses constructed of small logs or poles placed vertically (*"estacas plantadas"*) were

[712] [39] Log fortifications were constructed by the Tarascans at Tzintzuntzan (Ciudad Hidalgo) in pre-Spanish times (Stanislawski, 1947 a, p. 46). There is no evidence, however, that the notching technique was known. For a description of pre-Conquest Tarascan houses, see Beals, Carrasco, and McCurdy, 1944, pp. 32-36.

[P. 31]

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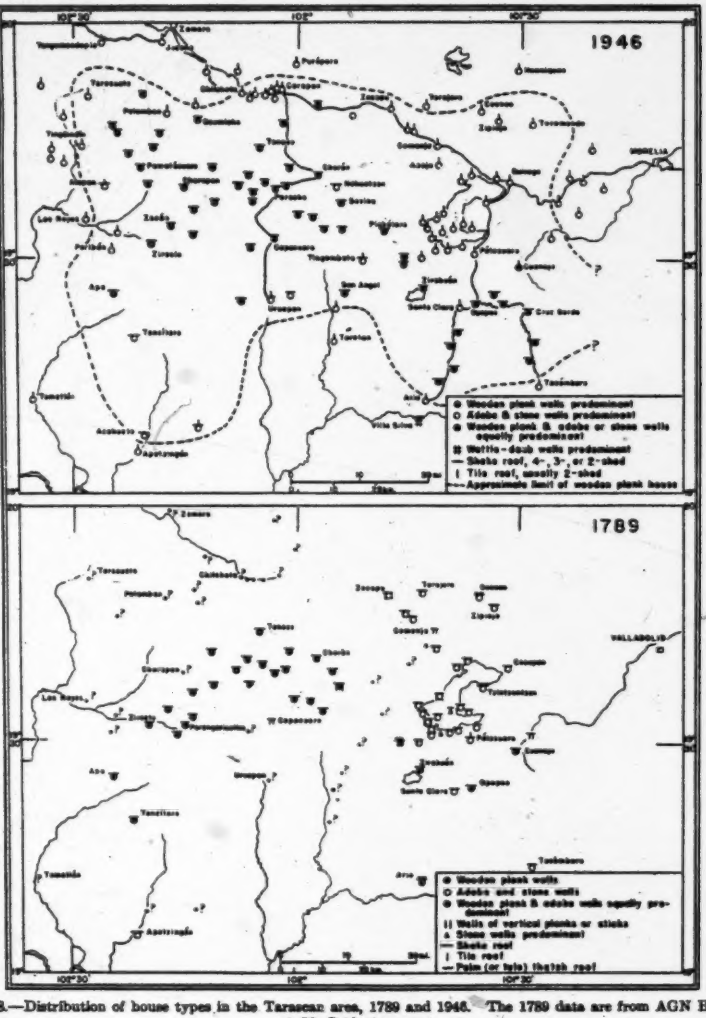

MAP 18.—Distribution of house types in the Tarascan area, 1789 and 1946. The 1789 data are from AGN Historia, vol. 73, Calderón report.

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4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 356] Sierra

243 having many characteristics of the Mexican Narrow: low to medium row number (10–16), usually long ears, slightly tapering from butt to tip, and slightly or nondented grains. In color it is the most striking maize of the Tarascans: blue, blue black, dull red, wine, and often white (from field corn) mixed with the above colors (*pinto*). In most villages of the Sierra the colored *elote* corns are rarely planted outside the house lot. When questioned as to the reason for this, informants invariably answered that such maize would not mature well in the fields, that it required soil of much greater "*fuerza*." [a] Possibly this corn has been grown so long in house lots, where refuse is thrown and animals stalled, that it has acquired a necessity for highly nitrogenous soils. The ekuáru maize is not limited to the Tarascan area, but is planted in a small way in many parts of western Mexico (Colima and Jalisco). Among the Huichol of Nayarit it has acquired ceremonial significance. Possibly developed from the Mexican Narrow Ear in the escarpment area of Jalisco and Nayarit, this maize spread westward into Michoacán; it is rarely found in the eastern part of the Mexican plateau (valleys of Toluca, Mexico, and Puebla). In the Lake district red is the dominant color of ekuáru maize; only few ears of blue or black are seen.

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Sweet corn.—This is rarely found among the Tarascans. In 1946 it was encountered in two towns, Teremendo and Chichota (mestizo). Because of its gummy consistency, sweet corn is never eaten green, but dried, mature grains are toasted to make *esquite*. The mature ears are called uačákata, for they resemble preserved green corn.

Popcorns.—The complete absence of popcorn in modern Tarascan agriculture poses a perplexing question concerning the antiquity of maize among these people. Popcorn is usually considered one of the most ancient of Mexican maizes (Anderson, 1946 a). The Tarascans were located between two popcorn centers—the western area (Jalisco, Nayarit) with its big-grained popcorns (*maíz reventador*) (Anderson, 1944) and the Toluca area with its small-grained *huilotlacaule* ("lo que comen las palomitas").

243 **Maize cultivation methods.**—Beals' (1946) description of maize cultivation in Cherán is typical

[a] In Urapicho the farmers believe that ekuáru maize is "afraid" of the fields and consequently will not grow there.

285 438 the Lake area a twilled technique is used in mat making, which is performed on the ground, the only tools being a knife or sharp stone to cut tule stalks and a wooden mallet to flatten the reeds as they are twilled. Several sizes of mats are made; the largest, called simply k'uírakua-k'éri, measures 1.5 by 1 m.[149] Both mats and fire fans are taken to the Lake markets (Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, Quiroga), where they are purchased by the Sierra people and buyers from the *tierra caliente*.

Basketry.—Ihuatzio and San Jerónimo in the Lake area are the only modern Tarascan towns in which baskets are made. The former Tarascan towns of Tangamandapio (west of Zamora) and Panindícuaro (north of Zacapu) are the main basket centers in the general area, supplying the Sierra people with the šúndiča, or harvest baskets for maize. The Ihuatzio baskets are made of split carrizo stalks, which grow in abundance in local house lots. Both wicker and twilling techniques are used (pl. 12).

286 438 **Netting.**—In all fishing villages around Lake Pátzcuaro nets are made by men, women, and children in their spare time. On Janitzio and the Urandén Islands a few professional *rederos* fabricate nets to sell to fishers in other pueblos. Cotton [283] thread purchased in Pátzcuaro is wound on the *hilador* (šoróranskua) and five to six strands are twisted with the native malacate or with the European spinning wheel. The twisted strands are water-soaked and sun-dried. Nets are made with the čuŕúkua, a large wooden needle (20 cm. long, 2 cm. wide).

294 ●[171] [438] [439] **Capote making.**—In many parts of indigenous Mexico the palm-leaf raincape (*capote*), similar to those worn in the Orient, is a common outdoor apparel during the wet season. *Capotes* are made by women in three Tarascan towns—Quinceo, Arantepacua, and Turicuaro—using leaves of the *palma pimu* (*Acoelorraphe pimo*), which are imported from the *tierra caliente* below Ario de Rosales.[150] The capes are fabricated by tying soaked strips of palm leaf onto braided cords, two of which are stretched parallel and one foot apart on pegs driven into the ground. The strips of

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 674]

[149] Other types: The k'amériča (1.3 m.×80 cm.) and the ẗimánitepémeča (1 m.×80 cm.), both used for sleeping; the jatápetakua, a small knee mat; ístičan, a long, narrow mat sold to mestizos as a sort of rug. Many more sizes and varieties occur, the names and types varying from place to place. The terms and types given above were observed in Ihuatzio and some of the ranches along the shore of the Tarío-k'éri Peninsula.

[150] Most of the palm leaves used in Arantepacua are said to come from the localities of Rosario, La Playa, Charapendo, and San Marcos, south of Ario.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1943 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 679]

palm are tied on one cord, half-hitched to the second one, and then tied back to the first; the loose end of the strip is permitted to hang over the second cord, thus forming a drainage surface similar to thatch (pl. 12). The process is repeated, adding a new row of tied strips to the previous one until the garment (4 ft. long and 3 ft. wide) is completed. Arantepacua *capotes* are marketed as far north as Guanajuato. No mention is made of these raincapes in the colonial sources, nor is there a Tarascan word for the garment. It is not improbable that the *capote* is an introduced trait.

Broommaking.—This is another minor industry now practiced by a few men in Arantepacua. Pimu palm leaves are symmetrically arranged around the end of a finished pine stick and then tied with agave fiber or a braided strip of palm. The result is a common broom found in all parts of central Mexico.

WOODCRAFT

According to the early Spanish chroniclers, the Tarascans were clever craftsmen in wood, and under the instruction of Spanish masters the natives became among the best carpenters in New Spain (La Rea, 1945, p. 20; Escobar, 1924, p. 147). By 1580 Indian carpenters in at least four towns—Pátzcuaro, Necotlán (Undameo), Tiripitío, and Tingüindín—were turning out European-styled tables, chairs, and writing desks, which found ready sale among Spanish colonists in all parts of Michoacán.[180a] At that time lathework was established in Pátzcuaro, and probably before 1540 Tarascans had begun to carve saddle frames for Spanish horsemen (Molotinía, 1903, p. 183). Like other Tarascan industries, woodwork was probably a rudimentary pre-Conquest craft greatly modified and improved by European techniques. However, the present commercial types of Tarascan woodwork—cabinet work, lathe work, and adz work—all appear to have been developed in the 16th century.

Specialized woodwork (apart from lumbering and shake making) was formerly more widespread among Tarascans than at present. At the end of the 18th century wood objects were manufactured in 21 pueblos (AGN Historia, vol. 73), today in only 13 towns. In but eight of the latter is the

[180a] Rel. de Pátzcuaro, 1581 (Martínez, 1939, p. 47); Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Chocandirán, Rel. de Necotlán; Rel. de Tiripitío, ms. (in Garcia Library, Univ. of Texas).

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

GAMES OF THE MOUNTAIN TARASCANS[1]

By RALPH L. BEALS *and* PEDRO CARRASCO[2]

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ONE of the major changes in the field of Americanist studies in recent years has been the recognition of an increasing number of parallels between the simpler cultures of South America and those of North America. In a recent article in this journal, Dr. Robert H. Lowie reviewed some of the evidence and summarized the significance of the problems for American culture history.[3] One difficulty in interpreting the parallels now on record has been the absence of intervening cases between northern South America and the United States border. A decade ago the senior author of this paper pointed out evidence of parallels with South America to be found in northern Mexico and ventured to suggest that they represented the peripheral survivals of a culture once found in the Central and South Mexican and Central American areas which had been supplanted by the development of the high cultures.[4] Such a view would be greatly strengthened if survivals of such traits could be found in the intervening region of Middle America.

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One striking parallel between North and South America is the occurrence of games similar to hockey in the Gran Chaco and among the Araucanians.[5] Despite the presence of elaborate ball games of different types in the intervening regions, hockey is strikingly absent. The major importance of the present paper is the recording of a hockey game still existing among the Tarascans in a region of high Middle American culture. As the modern Tarascans are notably deficient in games, associated types are also described, including a form of *quince* or patolli and two European games.

The presence of European games might suggest a post-Conquest introduction of hockey. Variants of the European games, however, are widespread in

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[1] This paper is a contribution of the Program for Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans, a cooperative program of the University of California and cooperating Mexican institutions. See AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 42, 1940, pp. 708–711.

[114] [131] [2] The data for this paper were collected by Sr. Carrasco in 1940–1941 while working as a student assistant from the Instituto Politécnico Nacional under the direction of the senior author. The senior author's part in this paper consists of field direction, translation and editing, and the writing of the introductory paragraphs. With one exception the games described are all from Angáhuan, a large village in the *municipio* of San Juan Parangarukutíri, about 25 miles west of Uruapan, Michoacán. The village is notably conservative in outlook and customs and the games described are not known in most Tarascan villages.

[3] Robert H. Lowie, *American Culture History* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 42, 1940), pp. 409–428.

[4] Ralph L. Beals. *Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico Before 1760* (Ibero-Americana 2, 1932), pp. 151–152.

[5] Erland Nordenskiöld, *Comparative Ethnographic Studies* 9, p. 8; Alfred Métraux, *El Hockey, Deporte de los Indios Chaqueños y de los Araucanos* (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, July 14, 1940, Section 3).

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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Mexico, while hockey hitherto has not been reported. Neither is there evidence that hockey type games were ever played by the Spanish. Angáhuan, the only village for which the game is reported, is one of the most isolated and conservative Tarascan villages. The games follow:

Uásukuni.[6] The game is played by two opposing sides of equal numbers. Any number may play. Each player has a stick, *uásukarákua*, in either of the two forms shown in figure 1. Mango wood is preferred. The ball, *tarándukua*, is often made of rags, but one made by winding cord about a center formed of a white substance secreted by the green worms of the madrone tree is preferred. The latter type of ball is called *tarándukua šanári.*

The game is always played around a block of the town. The starting point is a street intersection. The two teams line up as shown in figure 2. A representative of each team stands in the center of the intersection. One throws the ball in the air and each player then tries to knock it toward his own team. The winning team must take the ball around the block back to the starting street intersection.

The teams are sometimes representatives of different blocks in the town. The block chief, an official appointed annually by the mayor for each block in the town, names the men who will play. Men so named may not refuse to play. The most important occasion on which the game is played is the day following the feast of Conception, December 8. This day is called *siráŋgua.* An official called the *kiéŋi*, who cares for the hospital (formerly a hospital in fact but now the residence of the *kiéŋi*; and the repository of ceremonial equipment) and runs errands for the heads of the ceremonial heirarchy in the church, makes an especially big ball of rags for the game. Two very large teams play with this ball, playing around each block of the town successively.[7]

Akúčperani. Two men play with the same stick and ball used in *uásukuni.* The players start in the middle of a street and each attempts to knock the ball to an established goal.

Aíásukuni. This game is played at Cherán, a large town 20 miles northeast of Urapan. Any number of players compete in two teams of equal size. Each player has a stick, *aíásuákua*, curved at one end and from a meter to a meter and a half in length. The ball, *apásikua*, is made of rags wrapped with cord. The players line up opposite one another according to the numbers engaged (fig. 3). The contest begins in the middle of a block and each side attempts to take the ball to the opponents' end of the block. A representative of each team first tosses a coin or pot sherd at a line. The man whose piece is nearest the line

[6] The recording of native terms is in the official alphabet now being used by the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas.

[7] The resemblance to the winter hockey games of the Southwest is very suggestive. Silvia Rendón writes that the game is played daily from December 9 to Carnival and that each block and every man competes during this period.

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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puts the ball in play, knocking the ball toward his opponents. If possible, he lifts the ball in the air as it is thus more difficult to stop. If the ball passes the end of the block, the last man of the team nearest that goal must go after it, followed by the other players of his team who are supposed to maintain a constant distance from him. Should all the players of a team have to pass the line at the mouth of a street in order to keep the proper distance, the game is won by the opposing team.

The game may also be played with two balls which are put in play one after another.

The game is played only by boys and unmarried young men in the dry season during the winter. It is said that the reason for this is that the streets are too wet in the rainy season. The game may be played in the fields; in this case lines are drawn to represent the street. The game has almost disappeared and few young persons even know it.

In Charápan the Angáhuan type of game is known. In Chilchota, a former Tarascan town now "mestizoized" and where Tarascan is no longer spoken, a similar game is played during the rainy season at a place called La Mesa where there is turf.

Professor José Corona Nuñez has also described a similar game in the former Tarascan town of Cuitzeo on the lake of the same name.[8] The ball is a piece of burning maguey root, 7 to 10 centimeters in diameter, which burns slowly but stubbornly. The game is played at night and the ball gives off showers of sparks when struck. The opposing teams represent different barrios.

Professor Corona states that several codices show gods playing ball with a sort of stick or racket. He also mentions rock paintings near Queréndaro, Michoacán, showing two ball players with sticks or rackets. Ball players with clubs, playing in an "I"-shaped court, are also shown in a mural recently discovered at Teotihuacan.

Kolíṗa aṫárakua.[9] This game is a version of *quince* or patolli. A course or track is drawn on the ground or on a board (fig. 4). Two players compete, each with four pieces called ***moshúkua***. The players start at two opposing points (A in fig. 4) called ***apórun***. The course followed by one player is indicated in the figure. Each piece is advanced in accordance with the score made by throwing four stick dice. The players take turns throwing the dice and moving the pieces. A player may apply the score made in one throw to only one piece.

If a piece comes to rest on the points marked B, it is said to be burned and must be started again at A, but until it is put in play again it must rest at point C, ***kurinṗkua*** or bonfire. While on the interior part of the course the pieces of the two players will never stop on the same spot, but on the outer part of the

[8] *El Nacional* (September 6, 1942, México, D.F., first section), p. 3.

[9] In Angáhuan the *s* is often omitted, giving the form *aṫákua*. The "I" sound only occurs in Tarascan in borrowed words; probably ***kolíṗa*** is in this category, but its origin is not identified.

stormy agrarian period (1921-26), when the agrarian hero was, by word of mouth, "touching the sensitive parts" of the Tarascan peasantry.

The second method, astute intrigue, follows fairly familiar Machiavellian lines but with a self-conscious sophistication and articulateness that would have delighted the immortal Florentine (Machiavelli, 1942). Intrigue has always been a major, time-consuming political activity in Durazno, and astuteness (astucia) is a personal quality much admired by the cunning leaders. It is true that politics is often infused by the characteristic desperation of peasants struggling for land with a newly activated lust for power; old agrarian fighters recall that after the land reform in 1924 they felt like the "recently arrived." But Durazno politics also has the character for its participants of a fascinating game to be played astutely, in accordance with certain rules and a high sense of art.

The third principal method, human organization, received great impetus during the twenties through the formation of regional committees and of "shock brigades," organized on Leninist principles. Leaders today conceive of their role as one of "organizing" and "controlling" the pueblo and the region. The cacique maintains a high threshhold of internal discipline, but the relations between the other leaders are horisontal, loose, and shifting. The importance of relations with higher organizations has already been described.

The fourth method, the "diagnostic trait" of violence, assumed the stature of a civil war during the agrarian period when indigenous patterns of blood vengeance and friendship loyalty combined with the ideological justifications of the reform struggle. During the twenty-year factional period from 1926 to 1948, Durazno and the region attained a unique notoriety in the state. Twenty-three cross-checked politically motivated homicides and several times more woundings and armed encounters took place in the three "bad years" from 1937 to 1939 alone. Leaders and ordinary citizens recognize violence as a normal aspect of politics, but today many are sick of it, and the incidence has greatly dropped. Assassinations are usually carried out by the more "valiant" members of a party and are generally directed against the minor figures of opposing parties. The number of active or potential peasant "fighters" in Durazno has always ranged between ten and forty and has been a significant power factor in region and state. The power basis of politics is a comparatively obvious factor here.

Much of what we have said here would apply to other forms of caciquismo, including larger, non-Indian, conservative areas, such as Spain. In the Boasian spirit, however, we have limited our inductions to one Mexican Indian cacicazgo. In 1896 Franz Boas wrote: "When we have cleared up the history of a single culture . . . we can then investigate in how far the same causes were at work in the development of other cultures."

NOTES

1. Fourteen months of fieldwork were conducted between March, 1955, and July, 1956, under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the Mexican government.

2. Nonparticipants have illegally rented their plots, or are boycotting the cacique, or have withdrawn from politics from fear or weariness.

3. Leaders of opposition factions in the village stand ready to switch and offer a revolutionizing support to a leader who challenges a state or national machine. This automatic village-level support of an opposition leader partially explains the cataclysmic success of Lazaro Cardenas when, in 1934, he turned against national "strong man" Calles.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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well have been true—for after two days of dancing the little girls were, in some cases, the only ones who remained sober. The reason for this is that following each performance of the dance in a private home the family honored by the performance is expected to offer refreshments, usually alcoholic in nature, for the musicians and the women who accompany the dancers.

Before the fiesta began, one villager said, "We like this Huanancha music because it is very slow and quiet and because it is our music and we know it." He also commented with evident approval on the fact that the dance is very, very slow. After the girls had performed and the holiday was over the same man said that he didn't like the music of the Huananchas now as much as he used to because they dance too fast and to music which is that used for the dance of the Moors.[6] He went on to say that the music of today is not as it used to be, because the music for the Huanancha and the Moor dances is not supposed to be the same, but now it is. It may be mentioned that this comment came from the clarinet player, the sometimes conductor of the Paracho orchestra, who took pride in the local music. On another occasion another member of the community said that the townspeople always used to have music for the funeral processions, but that this custom had been abandoned in recent times because the music was too slow and sad and made all of the people feel bad.

While on the subject of Tarascan music it is interesting to note that Carl Lumholtz who visited Paracho and other Tarascan communities in 1895, said about the Tarascan music that its "dominant character . . . is sad and plaintive. To a scherzo or a rondo these people would remain absolutely indifferent."[7]

Not all of the people questioned about the music and the dance shared the clarinet player's view either on the music, which he disliked, or on the dance, which he liked. Some of the townspeople made no effort to get to see any of the performances at all and had no desire to see them. One woman, who had spent several years in the United States, said that she didn't like the dance but that it was customary to have it. She didn't mind if others wanted to see it, but she herself didn't wish to bother. Another individual complained that he did not like the dance because it was too slow. Even the musician reluctantly admitted that "they don't do these dances here any more." He added, "Only one old lady in town knows the dances of the Huananchichas and if they are going to dance them then she teaches them, but if not, she doesn't want to bother. She says, 'there is no use'."

There are communities other than Paracho which have Huananchas and Huanancha dances. Migrants to Paracho from Charapan said that a similar dance was formerly, and perhaps still is, performed in that pueblo; some said it is called by another name there. The Huanancha dance was performed by residents in Cheranastico, a pueblo about five miles from Paracho, one week after the Corpus Christi fiesta in Paracho. Beals reports the presence of

[6] Seen by the author at the nearby pueblo of Nauhautzen on August 25, 1948, and described by Ralph Beals, *Cheran: A Sierra Tarascan Village*. Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publication Number 2, Washington, D. C., 1946, p. 144.

[7] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1905), II, 388.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

Huananchas in Cheran.[8] There the girls were chosen either on the basis of a vow made by their parents, or else they were nominated by the *prioste*, the woman in charge of certain of the ceremonial round of affairs. In Cheran, the function of the girls was definitely of a religious nature since they were expected to clean the church periodically, to bring flowers to decorate the church and to perform other such duties. Although the dance in which these girls participate, known as a Pastorela, does not parallel that of the Paracho Huananchas, their present functions seem to match very closely what were reported to have been the functions of the Paracho Huananchas until recently.

In 1906 León apparently observed the functioning of the *guananchas* in Arentepácua for he writes:

> On December 8th they celebrated the Fiesta de La Purisima with feather dances, fireworks, and a procession in the Hospital, from which the *guananchas* come to outshine themselves. These are the young maidens of the pueblo, into whose charge is put the care of decorating the altar of the Virgin, and more than that they have the duty of carrying the image on a litter during the procession. For this duty they put on their best dresses and crown their head with a garland of natural flowers. In this fiesta they are present at the church all day, where they remain singing praises to the Virgin in Tarascan.[9]

Beals also reports that prior to 1932 there were in the mestizo town of Chilchota four specially appointed women known as Roseras or Huananchitas whose duties included care of the Virgin, dressing of the image on special occasions, and the floral decoration of the litter on which the image was carried.[10] They were also expected to walk in the religious procession. In these processions one of the Roseras carried a spray of flowers while another carried a pennant. In Chilchota, in contrast to the custom in other pueblos where the office of Huananchicha is mentioned, the Roseras or Huananchichas are older, married women. Although the office of Huananchicha is present in Chilchota there appears to be no religious dancing associated with it in which the office holders themselves participate.

In this same study Beals reports that in Paracho on August 12, 1940, he observed a dance of little girls in the streets and in the mayor's office. In 1940 the church was elaborately decorated with flowers, vegetables and fruit. Saint's images were placed at the four corners of the atrium, and following the noon mass a procession moved counterclockwise about the atrium stopping before each saint's image. At that time, according to Beals, the dancers formed part of the procession.[11] In 1948 there was no religious procession. On the other hand, the Huananchichas and their "music" did lead the parade of the bulls to the bull ring on the first day of the spectacle.

From the foregoing it may be seen that the office of the Huanancha maidens is not one limited to the pueblo of Paracho, but that in Paracho—at least by

[8] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.
[9] Nicolás León, *op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a epoca, T. III, p. 468, (translated from the Spanish).
[10] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–219.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 130–131.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

prevented the Tarascans from helping Montezuma when he sought additional support against Cortez. Consequently, the Spaniards were able to conquer the Aztec and Tarascan empires separately.

In the legends will be found specific references to some of these historic events and to places located on the accompanying maps (Figs. 1-2). These tales explain some of the natural features of the Tarascan countryside. Frequently, political history is combined with natural history.

Except for references to the four cardinal directions in the first legend and to omens and dreams predicting the coming of the Spaniards in the last two tales, there is no similarity between these Tarascan legends and those of other Indian groups of Mexico.

COLLECTION OF THE LEGENDS

The Tarascan legends and folk tales presented in this paper are a select few of those secured in 1953 by the author and his wife while he was Visiting Professor of History at the University of Michoacán in Morelia, Mexico. They were collected in the villages of Indians who still use the pre-Conquest language and speak of themselves as *Purépecha* rather than as Tarascans.

The etymology of the word "Tarascan" is disputed. The traditional explanation, probably correct, is that the conquistadores took Indian women as wives or concubines and were called *Tarascué* (son-in-law) by the fathers of the girls. Thinking that the term was the name of the tribe, the Spaniards referred to all as *Tarascos* (Foster, 1948, p. 9).

The legend of creation was told in the barrio of Santa Maria in Morelia by Ignacia Peña, a full-blooded Tarascan *serviente* (housemaid) with a third-grade education; the story of the tribal journey to Michoacán was given in Copula by Luis Espinosa, a meztizo with a secondary education, who specializes in pottery making; the tale of Tacamba was told by Fidelia Perez, a full-blooded Tarascan woman with no formal education, in the pueblo of San Gerónimo on the northern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro; the legend of Lake Cuitzeo was a collective effort by several natives

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

539 644 173 Fearing his brothers, especially Tanimaranscua, he gave orders that they be killed and the deed was done. The bodies of the murdered princes were still warm when the grief-stricken Sesihángari, with her hair flying in wild disorder, hurriedly took a torch and set fire to the palace where the bodies lay. Tongues of fire darted about and covered the regal mansion. The ceiling gave way, permitting the black smoke to rise heavenward and thereby making the sinister spectacle more awesome.

Among the leaping flames the onlookers saw Sesihángari embracing the body of her beloved Tanimaranscua. Before the horrified eyes of all, their two bodies were consumed in the flames. Thus were the two unified souls released in love and carried heavenward.

For centuries the Purépecha people remembered the terrible sight of the beautiful, grief-stricken princess.

THE DIVINE INCHÁTIRO

Historical Comment

173 539 787 [171] The folklore of the Indians of Mexico and Central America in pre-Conquest times referred to unusual omens—comets, burning temples, and dreams—which warned of the arrival of a strange people. The Tarascans were not exceptional in this respect (Ramirez, 1903, pp. 11-12). King Zuangua at the nerve center of [643] [631] the empire in Tzintzuntzan and his vassal princes at Tingambato, [645] Coyucán, and elsewhere were sitting in their political offices, fearful lest the sands of time were running out for the Tarascans.

173 539 [487] In the legend of Inchátiro those uneasy times are brought back like a breath of the past. Tingambato, the home of Camachuén, was, and still is, an important stopping point on a trail leading from La Sierra southeast to the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 1).

175 539 648 Since the time of Tariácuri at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Tarascans and Aztecs fought over the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 2).[1] The Matlaltzincas, sometimes called Pirindas, were said to have aided the Tarascans against the Aztecs. For this assis-

[1] [See Category 116, P. 5 -- Analyst]

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7
Tarasco N434
Zapotec N444

The Aztec people had, however, some knowledge of metallurgy, for they melted the copper and cast it in moulds, an art which the aborigines in the United States never seem to have acquired. Cortez tells us that in the markets of the City of Mexico

> "hatchets were sold made of copper alloyed with tin and that this alloy was used with a silicious powder with which they cut the hardest stones."

The Spanish historians speak of Cholula, a very ancient City of Mexico, founded before the arrival of the Aztec, which excelled in metal working, and that the Tarascans living west of the valley of Mexico were familiar with copper found in the mountains in that district, which they worked into defensive armor, body plates of wood covered with sheet copper. They also state that the Zapotec made ornaments of copper obtained from the mines in Oaxaca.

Copper implements, however, were not common near the City of Mexico but were plentiful in Oaxaca, Michoacan, and the Jalisco region. The T-shaped implements were found at Mitla, Central America, being abundant in the Zapotec country. The objects, some made of very thin sheet copper, others heavier, possibly cast, are of uncertain use; those too thin to be used as tools for wood or stone, are thought to be instruments used in their feather work or pottery, others regard them as a money currency or exacted as tribute paid to the City of Mexico by the neighboring cities, this latter being the general opinion.

The number as well as the variety of copper objects from Mexico found in our Museum collections, is rather limited, consisting of a few copper ax heads, chisels, large and small, little bells, finger rings, beads and pins. The peculiar T-shaped objects are the most abundant, differing somewhat in shape and size. An analysis of one of them in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, proved it to be simply copper. It was doubtful if the ancient Aztec had a knowledge of bronze or knew how to obtain it until shown by the Spanish invaders, and such analyses of Mexican metal objects, giving a percent of tin to indicate a true bronze, may have been implements made after the instruction by the Spaniards. Some copper tools from Mexico when analyzed showed a small amount of tin believed to have been an impurity in the